

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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SAJ-01 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15 OMB-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 DRC-01

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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1422
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
ALL NATO CAPITALS 3259
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4152

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SPC CHAIRMAN'S "COMPENDIUM OF IDEAS"

1. ON THE BASIS OF SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE SUMMER AND VARIOUS NATIONAL DRAFTS, ASSISTANT SYG KASTL HAS PREPARED A "COMPENDIUM OF IDEAS" WHICH HE HAS SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL AS A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT. FULL TEXT OF KASTL COVER LETTER AND "COMPENDIUM" FOLLOW.

2. TEXT OF COVER LETTER

AT ITS MEETING OF 26TH JULY, 1973(1), THE COUNCIL REQUESTED THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO IDENTIFY THE ISSUES REQUIRING CONSIDERATION IN AN EXAMINATION OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS. THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEVOTED SEVERAL MEETINGS TO THIS SUBJECT IN AUGUST.

2. A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE, BOTH IN THE COUNCIL AND IN THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE. CERTAIN OF THESE HAVE BEEN CONTAINED IN ORAL INTERVENTIONS. BUT IN ADDITION A
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NUMBER OF TEXTS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED. THESE INCLUDE DRAFT DECLARATIONS PRESENTED BY THE DUTCH, GERMAN, TURKISH AND UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATIONS, AND A CANADIAN PAPER IN THE FORM OF

A COMPENDIUM OF ELEMENTS FOR CONSIDERATION. THERE IS ALSO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PO/73/103 OF 11TH JULY.

3. ON THE BASIS OF THESE PAPERS, AND IN PARTICULAR, THE CANADIAN PAPER, THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE REQUESTED ITS CHAIRMAN TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE RESULTS OF ITS WORK AND TO PREPARE THE ATTACHED COMPENDIUM OF IDEAS WHICH REPRESENTS A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ISSUES WHICH HAVE SO FAR EMERGED IN DISCUSSION AND IN THE PAPERS ALREADY SUBMITTED. THIS COMPENDIUM, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN REVIEWED IN ITS PRESENT FORM BY THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE, IS SUBMITTED ON MY OWN RESPONSIBILITY.

4. A MAJOR QUESTION WHICH REMAINS UNRESOLVED IS WHETHER THE EXAMINATION OF RELATIONS, ON WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED, SHOULD BE CONFINED, AT THIS STAGE, STRICTLY TO SECURITY MATTERS OR WHETHER IT SHOULD GO WIDER. SOME PROPOSALS TEND IN THE FIRST DIRECTION, SOME IN THE SECOND. IT HAS ALSO TO BE DECIDED WHAT THE FINAL RESULT SHOULD BE; WHETHER THIS SHOULD BE A DECLARATION OR WHETHER IT SHOULD TAKE SOME OTHER FORM. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE ATTACHED PAPER DOES NOT SEEK TO DECIDE THESE QUESTIONS OR TO SELECT AS BETWEEN DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW.

END TEXT OF COVER LETTER

3. BEGIN TEXT OF "COMPENDIUM OF IDEAS"

I. ELEMENTS OF CHANGE

CHANGES AFFECTING THE MILITARY SITUATION

- THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR PARITY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES WITH ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF WESTERN SECURITY.

- THE STEEPLY RISING COST OF DEFENCE AND THE GROWING COMPETITION WITHIN NATIONAL BUDGETS FOR AVAILABLE RESOURCES.
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- POSSIBILITIES FOR FORCE REDUCTIONS AND THEIR STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS.

CHANGES WITHIN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE

- THE COMPLETION OF EUROPE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND THE GROWTH OF POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE EEC.

- MORE GENERALLY, CHANGES WITHIN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE AFFECTING THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPACITIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA,

AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALADJUSTMENTS AND A SENSE OF RIVALRY
IN CERTAIN AREAS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF
THE ALLIANCE.

CHANGES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS

- THE NEGOTIATION OF A SERIES OF IMPORTANT BILATERAL
TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL ALLIED COUNTRIES AND
CERTAIN WARSAW PACT MEMBERS.

- THE GROWING VOLUME OF MORE GENERAL BILATERAL EXCHANGES OVER
A WIDE FIELD BETWEEN ALLIANCE AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

- DEVELOPING MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST,
PARTICULARLY THE CSCE AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.

- DIMINUTION IN THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF A SECURITY THREAT
WHICH HAS RESULTED FROM THE PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE
SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

CHANGES OF A GENERAL CHARACTER

- THE INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY.

- THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL WEIGHT OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES
OUTSIDE THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, AND THE NEED TO TAKE
DUE ACCOUNT OF THE WIDENING CONCERNS AND INTERESTS OF THESE
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COUNTRIES.

- TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS. CHANGES IN THE ENERGY
SUPPLY SITUATION. THE PROSPECT FOR ADDING TO THE TRANS-ATLANTIC
RELATIONSHIP NEW AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST IN FIELDS SUCH AS
SCIENCE, THE ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY.

- INCREASING MATERIAL WELL BEING IN SOME PARTS OF THE
WORLD WHILE ELSEWHERE THERE CONTINUES TO EXIST CONDITIONS OF
EXTREME POVERTY.

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 3260

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 4152

II. STABLE ELEMENTS

- THE FUNDAMENTAL INSEPARABILITY OF THE DESTINIES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA BASED ON COMMON HERITAGES OF DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. THE CONTINUING INTERDEPENDENCE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IN THE PURSUIT OF THEIR COMMON GOALS.

- THE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF THE WARSAW PACT GOVERNMENTS TO POLITICAL STRUGGLE BACKED BY GROWING MILITARY FORCES, AND CONSEQUENT CONTINUING UNRESOLVED EAST-WEST TENSIONS.

- THE INDIVISIBILITY OF ALLIANCE SECURITY AND THE VALUE OF A COLLECTIVE APPROACH TO SHARED SECURITY PROBLEMS.

- THE COMMITMENT OF ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO WORK TOWARDS A JUST AND STABLE PEACE IN EUROPE.

- THE VALIDITY OF THE POLICY OF DETERRENCE COMBINED WITH AN ACTIVE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO EAST-WEST PROBLEMS PURSUED FROM A SECURE BASE.

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- THE VALUE OF CLOSE AND CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ACROSS THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF THEIR SHARED INTERESTS.

- THE CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY OF THESE RELATIVELY WEALTHY AND POWERFUL NATIONS TO MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

III. EMERGING CONCEPTS

- DEDICATION TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

- RECOGNITION THAT THE ALLIANCE HAS PRESERVED PEACE IN EUROPE, SAFEGUARDED THE FREEDOM OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES AND FACILITATED THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND HAS NOT BEEN AND IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

- CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF A FREELY FORMED ALLIANCE BASED ON RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF EACH OF THE MEMBERS, AND TO THE PURSUIT OF POLICIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER THE UN CHARTER AND THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY.

- RECOGNITION THAT FOR ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE, THEIR MUTUAL SECURITY, UPON WHICH ALL ELSE ULTIMATELY DEPENDS, MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER OTHER INTERESTS. ACCORDINGLY THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL WISH TO CONDUCT ALL ASPECTS OF THEIR RELATIONS IN A MANNER WHICH AVOIDS RISK OF POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO, OR WEAKENING OF THEIR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE FORMULATION OF THEIR ECONOMIC, TRADE AND MONETARY POLICIES THEY HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH POLICIES FOR THEIR PARTNERS AND TO SEEK WAYS TO PREVENT HARMFUL EFFECTS.

- RECOGNITION OF THE INDIVISIBILITY OF THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE AND JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THAT SECURITY. ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT EQUAL WEIGHT SHOULD BE ATTACHED TO THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF EACH AND EVERY PARTNER.

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- RECOGNITION THAT EUROPE IS AS VITAL TO THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MEMBERS AS IS THE SUPPORT OF THOSE MEMBERS TO THE DEFENCE OF WESTERN EUROPE.

- ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE AND RATIONAL DEFENCE ARRANGEMENTS IN RESPONSE TO THE CONTINUING, THOUGH EVOLVING, THREAT TO THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES.

- DETERMINATION THAT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES, THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD CONTINUE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 3 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP, SEPARATELY AND JOINTLY, AN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE CAPACITY TO RESIST ARMED ATTACK, AND THAT IN DOING SO, THERE SHOULD BE DUE REGARD FOR THE CHANGED STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND THE NEED TO MEET WHATEVER MILITARY CONTINGENCIES MAY ARISE IN THE MANNER MOST CONSISTENT WITH OUR INTERESTS.

- RECOGNITION THAT THE BURDEN OF COMMON DEFENCE MUST BE
EQUITABLY SHARED AND OF THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE EFFORT TO
ENSURE THE MAXIMUM RETURN FROM DEFENCE SPENDING THROUGH THE
CLOSEST POSSIBLE CO-OPERATION.

- AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO ADHERE TO THE STRATEGY OF
FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENCE IN WHICH CONVENTIONAL
FORCES, TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALL PLAY THEIR
PART. IN THIS CONNECTION, RECOGNITION OF THE VITAL DETERRENT
ROLE OF THE US NUCLEAR FORCES, AND THE PARTICULAR
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN EUROPE.

- RECOGNITION THAT ONLY ON THE SURE FOUNDATION OF THE
ALLIANCE HAS PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPROVED INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
BEEN POSSIBLE, AND DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE WITH A POLICY
OF SEEKING TO REDUCE TENSIONS, AND PROMOTE GREATER UNDERSTANDING,
AND WITH THE SEARCH THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS
ON FORCE AND ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS, FOR A MORE JUST AND STABLE
PEACE IN EUROPE.

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- AWARENESS THAT DETENTE IS NOT A MATTER ONLY OF POLITICAL
AGREEMENTS AND MILITARY MEASURES AND WILL ONLY PROVE DURABLE
IF BASED ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE FLOWING FROM HUMAN CONTACTS
AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN PE

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